

Message Text

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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 SALT TWO GENEVA 324

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E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

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SUBJ: DEPUTY MINISTER SEMENOV'S STATEMENT OF AUGUST 29, 1975

(SALT TWO 757)

THE FOLLOWING IS STATEMENT DELIVERED BY DEPUTY MINISTER
SEMENOV AT THE SALT TWO MEETING OF AUGUST 29, 1975, INCLUDING
LANGUAGE FOR ARTICLE X (E).

SEMENOV STATEMENT, AUGUST 29, 1975

I

AMONG THE LIMITATIONS TO BE ESTABLISHED UNDER THE AGREE-
MENT BEING WORKED OUT, AN IMPORTANT PLACE IS HELD BY THE
OBLIGATIONS THE SIDES WILL ASSUME UNDER ARTICLE X OF THE
JOINT DOCUMENT OF MAY 7, 1975. IN THE COURSE OF THE NEGOTIA-
TIONS AN EXTENSIVE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS HAS ALREADY TAKEN PLACE
ON THE PROVISIONS OF THIS ARTICLE.

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IN THE INTERESTS OF BRINGING THE POSITIONS OF THE SIDES

CLOSER TOGETHER ON THE FORMULATIONS OF THE AGREEMENT UNDER PREPARATION, THE USSR DELEGATION HAS TABLED A NEW PROPOSAL FOR ARTICLE X AT THE AUGUST 12, 1975 MEETING. WE REGARD THE CONSIDERATIONS EXPRESSED BY THE U.S. DELEGATION ON ARTICLE X AT THE AUGUST 26, 1975 MEETING TO BE A STEP TOWARD REACHING AGREEMENT ON MUTUAL OBLIGATIONS BANNING THE DEVELOPMENT, TESTING OR DEPLOYMENT OF NEW TYPES OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF ARTICLE X OF THE DRAFT.

TAKING ACCOUNT OF THE DISCUSSIONS HELD AND DESIRING TO FACILITATE ACHIEVING MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTIONS, THE USSR DELEGATION, ON INSTRUCTIONS OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT, IS SUBMITTING FOR CONSIDERATION NEW WORDING FOR ARTICLE X, SUBPAR. (E). PERMIT ME TO READ AND HAND YOU THE TEXT OF THIS NEW PROPOSAL.

BEGIN BRACKETS THE SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR ARTICLE X (E), ATTACHED, WAS READ AND HANDED OVER. END BRACKETS

II

MR. AMBASSADOR,

GUIDED BY THE INTERESTS OF ACHIEVING MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTIONS, THE SOVIET SIDE ON JULY 7, 1975 TABLED A NEW PROPOSAL FOR THE WORDING OF ARTICLE XVII OF THE JOINT DRAFT, GOVERNING THE ACTIVITIES OF THE STANDING CONSULTATIVE COMMISSION IN CONNECTION WITH THE NEW AGREEMENT BEING WORKED OUT.

THE SOVIET WORDING FOR ARTICLE XVIII, PAR. 2, SETS FORTH THE FUNCTIONS OF THE SCC IN THE SAME WAY THEY ARE SET FORTH IN ARTICLE XIII OF THE ABM TREATY, AND TAKES INTO ACCOUNT THE INTEREST EXPRESSED BY THE U.S. DELEGATION IN GATHERING IN ONE PLACE THE PROVISIONS DEFINING THE ROLE OF THE SCC WITH RESPECT TO THE NEW AGREEMENT.

THE PROVISIONS OF THE SOVIET VERSION OF ARTICLE XVIII, TAKEN IN THEIR ENTIRETY, ARE FULLY IN ACCORD WITH THE AGREED PROVISIONS WHICH WILL BE AT THE BASIS OF THE DOCUMENT BEING SECRET

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WORKED OUT, AND ENSURE EFFECTIVE EXERCISE OF THE SCC'S FUNCTIONS IN THE LIGHT OF THOSE TASKS WHICH THE COMMISSION WILL HAVE TO CARRY OUT WITH RESPECT TO THE NEW AGREEMENT.

AT THE AUGUST 8, 1975 MEETING AND IN HEADS OF DELEGATION COVERSACTIONS, THE USSR DELEGATION POINTED TO THE EXISTENCE OF COINCIDING OR CLOSE ELEMENTS IN THE FORMULATIONS OF THIS ARTICLE, WHICH PROVIDE A GOOD BASIS FOR MAKING

PROGRESS. AT THE SAME TIME, THE SOVIET SIDE EXPRESSED ITS
ATTITUDE TOWARD CERTAIN U.S. PROPOSALS ON ARTICLE XVIII,
WHICH ARE NOT IN ACCORD WITH THE AGREED PRINCIPLE OF VERIFICA-
TION BY NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS AND ARE CONTRARY TO SOME
IMPORTANT AGREED PROVISIONS OF THE AGREEMENT BEING WORKED
OUT. THE U.S. SIDE IS AWARE OF THE CONSIDERATIONS ADVANCED
BY THE USSR DELEGATION ON THIS RANGE OF QUESTIONS.

IN CONNECTION WITH THE CONSIDERATIONS SET FORTH BY THE
U.S. DELEGATION ON AUGUST 12, 1975 ON THE PROPOSAL FOR
PERIODIC EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION, TWICE ANNUALLY, ON THE
NUMBERS BY CATEGORY OF THE SIDES' STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS
TO BE LIMITED UNDER THE NEW AGREEMENT, WE WOULD LIKE TO
EMPHASIZE THE FOLLOWING.

ADOPTION OF THIS PROPOSAL WOULD IN EFFECT MEAN A SUBSTI-
TUTION OF NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS OF VERIFICATION OF THE
SIDES AS THE MEANS FOR VERIFYING COMPLIANCE WITH THE PROVI-
SIONS OF THE NEW AGREEMENT. THIS IS ALSO CONFIRMED BY THE
CLARIFICATIONS RECEIVED BY THE SOVIET SIDE ON THE NATURE OF
THE INFORMATION WHICH, UNDER THE U.S. SIDE'S APPROACH, WOULD
BE EXCHANGED WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE SCC.

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THE INADVISABILITY OF THE PROPOSED REGULAR EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION, PROPOSED IN THE U.S. WORDING FOR ARTICLE XVIII, SUBPAR. (A), AS A MATTER OF FACT ALSO FOLLOWS FROM THE CLARIFICATIONS CONTAINED IN THE AFOREMENTIONED STATEMENT OF THE U.S. DELEGATION OF AUGUST 12, 1975, WHICH SAYS WITH RESPECT TO THE PROPOSED EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION THAT IT "IS NOT INTENDED THAT IT BE USED TO OBTAIN DATA THAT CANNOT BE COLLECTED BY THOSE MEANS". A NATURAL QUESTION ARISES: WHY IS THERE A NEED FOR SUCH AN EXCHANGE WHICH CAN ONLY LEAD TO UNDERMINING THE AGREED PRINCIPLE OF VERIFICATION BY NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS OF COMPLIANCE WITH OBLIGATIONS ASSUMED UNDER THE NEW AGREEMENT, AND THEREBY HAVE A DETRIMENTAL EFFECT UPON THE STABILITY OF THE AGREEMENT?

THE REFERENCE, CITED HERE, THAT SUPPOSEDLY THE PROPOSAL FOR A REGULAR EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION ON THE NUMBERS BY CATEGORY OF THE SIDES' STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS WAS DUE TO THE GREATER COMPLEXITY OF THE NEW AGREEMENT, AS COMPARED TO THE ABM TREATY AND INTERIM AGREEMENT, IS GROUNDLESS.

THESE AGREEMENTS WHICH ARE IN FORCE ARE FULLY COMPARABLE
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TO THE AGREEMENT UNDER PREPARATION BOTH IN CONTENT AND IN TERMS OF THE SCOPE OF ACTIVITIES WHICH IT IS UP TO NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS TO PERFORM IN CARRYING OUT THEIR VERIFICATION FUNCTIONS. ATTEMPTS, UNDER THE PRETEXT OF A GREATER COMPLEXITY OF THE AGREEMENT TO BE CONCLUDED, TO INTRODUCE INTO IT PROVISIONS WHICH WOULD NOT BE IN ACCORD WITH THE OBJECTIVES OF THE AGREEMENT BEING WORKED OUT AND WOULD BE CONTRARY TO THE AGREED PRINCIPLES OF VERIFICATION, MUST BE ELIMINATED.

THE PROPOSAL FOR PRIOR NOTIFICATIONS IS ALSO UNJUSTIFIED. THE SOVIET SIDE BELIEVES THAT THERE IS NO NEED FOR THEM WHATSOEVER, INASMUCH AS ALL NECESSARY DATA FOR ENSURING CONFIDENCE OF THE SIDES IN COMPLIANCE WITH THE PROVISIONS OF THE AGREEMENT ARE OBTAINED BY THE SIDES THROUGH NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS AT THEIR DISPOSAL.

THE PROPOSAL TO CONSIDER, ON A CASE-BY-CASE BASIS, VERIFICATION ISSUES ASSOCIATED WITH SYSTEMS, INCLUDING NEW TYPES, DEPLOYED PURSUANT TO MODERNIZATION AND REPLACEMENT AS PERMITTED BY ARTICLE XI, POINTS IN THE SAME DIRECTION. IF IT IS THE POSSIBILITY OF CONSIDERING AMBIGUOUS SITUATIONS IN THE SCC, WHICH IS ENVISAGED IN THIS CASE, A PROVISION ON THIS SCORE IS ALREADY CONTAINED IN ARTICLE XVIII AND IT DOES NOT GIVE RISE TO ANY DOUBTS ON THE PART OF THE SIDES.

AS ALREADY EMPHASIZED BY OUR SIDE, THE QUESTION OF SCC

FUNCTIONS MUST BE DECIDED IN STRICT ACCORD WITH THE TASKS WHICH THIS COMMISSION WILL FACE IN CONNECTION WITH IMPLEMENTATION BY THE SIDES OF THE PROVISIONS OF THE NEW AGREEMENT IN ALL THEIR ENTIRETY.

IN THIS SENSE, THE PROVISION TO CONSIDER QUESTIONS CONCERNING COMPLIANCE WITH THE OBLIGATIONS ASSUMED AND RELATED SITUATIONS WHICH MAY BE CONSIDERED AMBIGUOUS, AND THE PROVISION ON PROVIDING ON A VOLUNTARY BASIS SUCH INFORMATION AS EITHER PARTY CONSIDERS NECESSARY TO ASSURE CONFIDENCE IN COMPLIANCE WITH THE OBLIGATIONS ASSUMED, ON WHICH THERE ARE NO DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE SIDES, ARE OF EXCEPTIONALLY GREAT IMPORTANCE. WITHOUT IN THE LEAST CASTING DOUBT ON THE PRINCIPLE OF VERIFICATION BY NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS, AGREED BETWEEN THE SIDES, THE EXERCISE OF THESE FUNCTIONS BY THE SCC WOULD
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CONTRIBUTE TO ENSURING CONFIDENCE OF THE SIDES IN FULL AND STRICT COMPLIANCE WITH THE LIMITATIONS TO BE ESTABLISHED. THIS WOULD ACCOMPLISH ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT PURPOSES PRECISELY FOR WHICH THE SCC IS TO BE USED WITH RESPECT TO THE AGREEMENT BEING CONCLUDED.

ASSIGNING THE AFOREMENTIONED FUNCTIONS TO THE SCC WOULD DEMONSTRATE THE RESOLVE OF THE SIDES STRICTLY TO COMPLY WITH THE LIMITATIONS TO BE ESTABLISHED, AND WOULD BE OF GREAT IMPORTANCE IN TERMS OF STRENGTHENING TRUST BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES.

BY WAY OF A GENERAL CONCLUSION, I WOULD LIKE TO EMPHASIZE AGAIN THAT THE FUNCTIONS OF THE SCC MUST BE BASED ON THE PREMISE THAT VERIFICATION OF COMPLIANCE WITH THE PROVISIONS OF THE NEW AGREEMENT WILL BE CARRIED OUT BY NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS IN SUCH A WAY THAT THIS BE IN ACCORD WITH GENERALLY RECOGNIZED PRINCIPLES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW. ANY ATTEMPT TO CAST DOUBT ON THE EFFECTIVENESS OF NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS OF VERIFICATION IS UNJUSTIFIED. NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS OF THE SIDES ARE CAPABLE OF PROVIDING THE NECESSARY INFORMATION WHICH IS ADEQUATE FOR THE SIDES TO JUDGE WITH CONFIDENCE COMPLIANCE WITH SOME PROVISION OR OTHER OF THE NEW AGREEMENT.

AT A LATER TIME WE INTEND TO RETURN TO CONSIDERATION OF SOME OF THE OTHER PROVISIONS OF ARTICLE XVIII, PAR. 2.

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III

MR. AMBASSADOR,

THE AIDE-MEMOIRE OF DECEMBER 10, 1974, WORKED OUT AS A RESULT OF NEGOTIATIONS AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL, UNAMBIGUOUSLY SPECIFIES WHICH SYSTEMS ARE SUBJECT TO LIMITATION WITHIN THE OVERALL QUANTITATIVE LIMIT OF 2,400 UNITS. THESE ARE LAND-BASED ICBM LAUNCHERS, SLBM LAUNCHERS, HEAVY BOMBERS AND AIR-TO-SURFACE MISSILES OF ALL TYPES WITH A RANGE OF MORE THAN 600 KILOMETERS WHEN HEAVY BOMBERS ARE EQUIPPED WITH THEM.

WE WOULD LIKE TO ADDRESS THE LIMITATION OF HEAVY BOMBERS WITHIN THE AFOREMENTIONED AGGREGATE LEVEL. THIS LIMITATION IS AN IMPORTANT COMPONENT OF THE EXISTING UNDERSTANDING, AND IN DECIDING ON APPROPRIATE FORMULATIONS FOR INCLUSION IN THE TEXT OF THE AGREEMENT TO BE CONCLUDED, NO DEPARTURE WHATSOEVER FROM WHAT HAS BEEN AGREED TO ON THIS SCORE BETWEEN OUR STATES MUST BE ALLOWED.

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AND THE SUBSTANCE OF WHAT HAS BEEN AGREED IS CLEAR.

LIMITATIONS UNDER THE NEW AGREEMENT APPLY TO HEAVY BOMBERS. AND THIS IS WHAT WE SHOULD BE STRICTLY GUIDED BY. ANY ATTEMPT TO INCLUDE AMONG HEAVY BOMBERS AIRCRAFT OF OTHER CATEGORIES WILL ONLY LEAD TO UNNECESSARY COMPLICATIONS IN THE WORK OF REACHING AGREEMENT ON THE PROVISIONS OF THE DRAFT AGREEMENT AND WILL MAKE THINGS DIFFICULT.

HOWEVER, WE ARE OBLIGED TO TAKE NOTE THAT SUCH EFFORTS ARE BEING UNDERTAKEN IN THE COURSE OF THE ONGOING DISCUSSIONS. THEY ARE MANIFESTED BY THE EFFORT OF THE U.S. SIDE TO INCLUDE AMONG HEAVY BOMBERS WHICH ARE SUBJECT TO LIMITATION UNDER THE NEW AGREEMENT, THE SOVIET MEDIUM BOMBER WHICH IS CALLED BACKFIRE IN THE U.S. IN THIS CONNECTION, BY WAY OF PROVIDING RATIONALE, THE OPINION IS PRESENTED THAT, FOR EXAMPLE, TECHNOLOGICAL IMPROVEMENTS UTILIZED IN DEVELOPING THIS AIRCRAFT, ALLEGEDLY PROVIDE GROUNDS FOR INCLUDING IT AMONG HEAVY BOMBERS. IT IS QUITE OBVIOUS THAT TECHNOLOGICAL IMPROVEMENTS ARE UTILIZED FOR ANY KIND OF AIRCRAFT, FOR THAT MATTER NOT ONLY FOR AIRCRAFT, AND THIS IS CERTAINLY NO REASON FOR INCLUDING A MEDIUM BOMBER AMONG HEAVY ONES.

THE BIASED AND CONTRIVED NATURE OF SUCH EFFORTS IS SELF-EVIDENT. THE BACKFIRE WAS AND REMAINS A MEDIUM BOMBER, NOT A HEAVY ONE. AND NO REFERENCES TO TECHNICAL PROGRESS CAN CAST DOUBT ON THIS OBJECTIVE FACT.

USE WAS MADE HERE OF VERY SUBJECTIVE DATA FOR EVALUATING THE AIRCRAFT CALLED BACKFIRE. WE ALWAYS ADHERED AND INTEND STRICTLY TO ADHERE TO THE UNDERSTANDING ADOPTED AT OUR NEGOTIATIONS THAT DISCUSSION OF TECHNICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF ARMS IS OUTSIDE THE FRAMEWORK OF THE ONGOING NEGOTIATIONS AND THE DELEGATIONS HAVE NOT BEEN INSTRUCTED TO ENGAGE IN IT.

THE SOVIET SIDE RESOLUTELY REAFFIRMS ITS POSITION THAT THE AIRCRAFT WHICH THE U.S. SIDE CALLS BACKFIRE IS A MEDIUM BOMBER AND IS NOT SUBJECT TO INCLUSION UNDER THE OVERALL MAXIMUM LEVEL OF 2,400 UNITS.

ARTICLE X (E)

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(E) SYSTEMS FOR PLACING NUCLEAR WEAPONS OR ANY OTHER KIND OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION INTO ORBIT AROUND THE EARTH, OR PARTLY ORBITAL MISSILES;JOHNSON

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